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Mark Twain Anonymous

Mary Boewe

Summoned by the King to appear as soon as possible, Isaac Frederick Marcossan hurriedly left his New York City boardinghouse one noon and walked around the corner to the regal mansion at 21 Fifth Avenue, "of fine and stately proportions within."¹ There, he was sent upstairs to a bedroom where he stood in the presence of an old gentleman who appeared all in white: his head with its halo of white hair, thick and fluffy, was propped against white pillows placed at the foot of a massive double bed (the better to see the ornately carved headboard with its guardian angels on each post); his rumpled white nightshirt was dribbled in front with ashes and tobacco juice. The frail, slight figure lying abed was none other than the King, also known as Samuel Langhorne Clemens and Mark Twain. He "seemed never less than a king, as indeed he was—the king of a realm without national boundaries," according to his biographer, Albert Bigelow Paine.²

This was not the first meeting of Marcossan and Clemens, nor would it be the last, for they were collaborating on a magazine article which would attempt to salvage the battered reputation of Henry Huttleston Rogers, ruler of the Standard Oil Company and ready target of muckraking journalism. This particular bedside interview was of singular importance, however, for during it Mark Twain gave Isaac Marcossan a sheaf of manuscript to be used in the article *verbatim* without any acknowledgment whatsoever of its true authorship. Incidents leading to the publication of this carefully disguised piece of Twainiana—as anonymous today as it was in 1905—explain why Mark Twain handed over his writing so generously, and they reveal much about the friendship of "King" Clemens and "Rajah" Rogers, his greatest benefactor.

I

Isaac Frederick Marcossan was a native Kentuckian who joined the staff of the Louisville *Times* at eighteen, when there were no family funds for his education and he was forced to work for a

living. Through talent and energetic persistence he rose quickly from reporter to assistant city editor; in 1903, after a dispute over wages, he resigned from the daily paper and immediately left for New York City where he spent his usual summer vacation with novelist James Lane Allen, a Kentuckian at odds with his home state. In August 1903, editor Walter Hines Page offered Marcossan a post at the *World's Work*, "a glorified monthly newspaper dealing with the march of events."³ Previously, he had been an occasional contributor to that magazine; during the next three years he worked closely with Page, who became his model, friend, and guide.

Founded in New York late in 1900 and dubbed "The World's Work" by Rudyard Kipling, the publication—like Page himself—was realistic yet sympathetic towards the problems of mankind, soon becoming "the instrument of a varied and constructive reform."⁴ Editor "W.H.P." (as he was called behind his back) was a man of strong principles, convinced that "no man should destroy if he could not rebuild better; when men criticised they must likewise point the remedy." Furthermore, he impressed upon his staff the importance of " 'writing for everybody.' . . . He used to say: 'Make your articles so simple and concrete that a Kansas farmer can understand them.' To him the Kansas farmer represented the average reader everywhere."⁵ As a result of this insistence on clear, concise prose, any reader might understand the most perplexing issues of the day.

Marcossan had an opportunity to test his skill at concrete writing when he himself was sent to Kansas early in 1905. His assignment: a firsthand account of a violent dispute between the Standard Oil Company and the State of Kansas which was threatening to end up in the highest courts. Just before leaving New York, the reporter was handed a letter of introduction from Henry H. Rogers, titular head of Standard Oil, to the president of Prairie Oil and Gas, the company's Kansas subsidiary. Thus the oil monopoly was assured that its side of the dispute would have a hearing. Once in Kansas, Marcossan discovered that much of the state's indignation was focused on Rogers, who unfortunately was being denounced at the time as "the big brain, the big body, the Master of 'Standard Oil' " in a series of articles by Thomas W. Lawson titled "Frenzied Finance."⁶ The series, which appeared in consecutive numbers of *Everybody's Magazine* (and later in book form), had been advertised in newspapers throughout the country,

giving Rogers even more notoriety. Isaac Marcossion did not capitalize on this public clamor over Rogers, however, for he never once mentioned the financier's name in his report, eleven pages of printed text titled "The Kansas Oil Fight," which kept to the point and emphasized *local* names as well as local places and events.

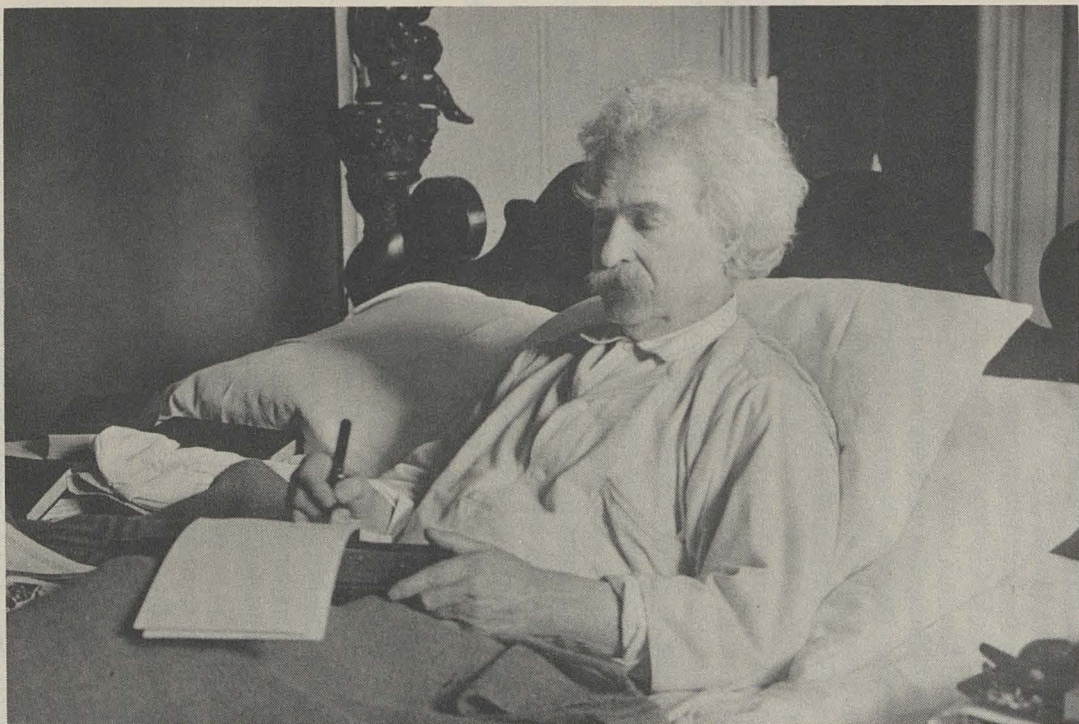
After completing the Kansas article, Marcossion decided that a profile of Rogers would be a suitable accompaniment to it, with the two pieces appearing in the same issue of the *World's Work*; at least that is one of Marcossion's versions, years later, of what happened next. Equally plausible is the supposition that in one of their meetings (perhaps the weekly Wednesday luncheon) the staff discussed topics which would relate to the oil story, and then decided that the time was right for an accurate portrayal of a key figure, Rogers himself. According to editor Page:

We work in constant conference; for it is all team-work. Every man knows and every man must know what every other one is doing; and in our conferences we decide what volunteer articles we shall accept and we make plans for our outside friends who help us write. . . .

It is a cheerful and exhilarating occupation; for we must keep an eye on all sorts of human activities and meet and learn from men of all helpful sorts. The real reward of the editorial life is in the friends and acquaintances that one has occasion (and necessity) to make. No sort of active and useful man or woman is foreign to our plans or purposes.⁷

Whatever the source of the idea, also attributed to Walter Hines Page in a different Marcossion account, the editor would have approved a special feature on H. H. Rogers, for he associated Lawson's writing "with all the glibness of a shell-and-pea operator."⁸ Here was the opportunity to counteract Thomas W. Lawson's attacks on Rogers and now was the time to bring balance to the lopsided scale of public opinion.

However, in expediting the plan to interview the usually inaccessible Rogers, Marcossion turned to Frank N. Doubleday for assistance. Senior partner of Doubleday, Page and Company, publishers of the *World's Work*, he was a respected editor and a special friend of authors. ("Big, broad, but with a caressing voice," Marcossion once described him;⁹ his initials, F.N.D., sounded out



Mark Twain writing in bed. (Photograph courtesy of the Mark Twain Papers, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley)

the Turkish word for "chief," so Kipling always called him *Effendi*, a name which suited him perfectly.) Doubleday wasted no time getting the project started. On a half sheet of company stationery he scrawled a barely legible note to his friend Mark Twain; this note, dated 23 March, 1905, informed Mr. Clemens that the *World's Work* wanted to publish a character study of Mr. Rogers.¹⁰ Would Clemens help them acquire some information? And would he talk to Mr. Marcossan, who had been assigned to the piece? There was no direct request for Mark Twain to act as intermediary between Rogers and Marcossan, but that was the role he assumed. Isabel V. Lyon, at that time quite literally Mark Twain's Girl Friday (and slavishly devoted to him), wrote a note at the bottom of F.N.D.'s brief letter stating that Doubleday could not get an appointment with Rogers, adding: "Mr. D. thinks that Mr. R. does not understand the point they wish to make."¹¹ (From the tone of the published article, it is clear that its "point" was the humanizing of Henry Huttleston Rogers, a feat best accomplished through descriptions of his youthful experiences and his later friendship with the ever-popular Mark Twain.)

It is safe to assume that Doubleday's note was hand-delivered to Clemens on the day it was written, and that Miss Lyon was immediately instructed to telephone Doubleday upon its receipt. This would account for Lyon's comment at the bottom of the note and also explain an item in her journal for 23 March; that afternoon Mr. Clemens took a stroll "in the lovely March sunshine" and called upon Doubleday.¹² Clemens thus acted quickly so that Marcossan could soon have access to his subject.

The efficient Miss Lyon also had a desk calendar on which she jotted down appointments and other memoranda pertinent to the day. On Saturday, 25 March, two days after his visit with Doubleday, she noted that Mr. Clemens dined with Mr. and Mrs. Rogers. They must have discussed the *World's Work* article that evening, but did Clemens attempt to convince Rogers that he should at last agree to some favorable publicity? If so, he was hoping to succeed where he had often failed before. Since the mid-1890s Sam Clemens had wanted to proclaim the virtues of his friend Henry but that friend would not consent, preferring to keep his good deeds and private charities hidden from the reading public. On Monday the 27th, H. H. Rogers gave his decision in a letter; after careful thought, he wrote Clemens, he had decided that nothing should be published. His excuse was that he did not

have time for talking, and then he concluded mysteriously yet revealingly, "I don't see how I could talk to you as freely as you would want."¹³ This sounds as though Mark Twain had asked to interview Rogers, acting as legman for the accredited reporter.

Rogers's letter must also have been hand-delivered soon after it was written, for on that same morning Miss Lyon telephoned Mr. Doubleday, requesting that he call on Mr. Clemens—which he did on that very day. The subject of their conversation was Mr. Rogers, according to Miss Lyon.¹⁴ Not recorded but obvious in retrospect was a discussion of how to re-approach Rogers diplomatically and get his cooperation for the projected article. Whatever they decided apparently worked, for Rogers soon changed his mind, a surprising change from one known for bulldog stubbornness. On 30 March Doubleday telephoned Clemens to report that Mr. Rogers had at last consented to talk with him. "Effendi" then may have gone alone to Rogers's office on the eleventh floor of the Standard Oil Building at 26 Broadway, for he would not have risked displeasure by sending a reporter in his stead; or, Isaac Marcossan may have accompanied him there, waiting in an anteroom until negotiations between the famous publisher and the infamous magnate were over, when he could then be properly introduced and allowed to conduct the highly coveted and unusual interview.

Less than a week later, on 5 April, Isabel Lyon noted on her calendar that Clemens had received the manuscript of the Rogers article that afternoon and that it had been written by "Mr. Mocassin." (The misspelling, if taken from Doubleday's note of the 23rd, was a misreading of *that* equally wrong version: "Mr. Mocussin"—or so it appears; neither version is decipherable as "Marcossan," the correct form.) The following day, 6 April, the secretary recorded that Rogers called in the morning to read the manuscript and presumably to suggest alterations or additions which Clemens could then pass on to its author. That noon, Marcossan was hastily summoned to appear at 21 Fifth Avenue, and the next day—Friday, 7 April—he called again to deliver the final draft of the manuscript.¹⁵ Unless Clemens had further suggestions, "Henry H. Rogers—Monopolist" was now ready to be set in type for the upcoming issue of the *World's Work*.

The article in its published form was a bland piece of writing, anecdotal and rather choppy in style. And it is a profile of an obdurate Horatio Alger who became powerful through a

combination of hard work, willpower—and wiliness. This Rogers is not the Rogers of "Frenzied Finance"; nevertheless, Marcossion's article may only have convinced its eventual readers that H. H. Rogers had a dual personality, neither one totally believable in the light of the other's ambitions and achievements.

II

During his first reading of the Marcossion manuscript, Clemens may have been flattered by its emphasis on Henry Rogers's generous assistance to a famous but financially imperiled author—details given the reporter by both Rogers and Clemens. As Mark Twain, the object of such concern, he must have sensed a need to embellish the text, redirecting the reader's attention to the subject, thereby making Rogers livelier as well as likeable. For almost a decade Mark Twain had written praises to and about his often maligned benefactor; on 25 April 1902, for example, he penned a lengthy tribute which was never published during the lifetime of either man. It began: "I owe more to Henry Rogers than to any other man whom I have known." It ended: "He is not only the best friend I have ever had, but is the best man I have known."¹⁶ Sandwiched in between was a wordy account of Rogers's husbandry of Clemens's finances dating from 1893, a depression year and a time of hopeless financial entanglements for the distraught writer. Four years later, in 1897, Clemens would write Rogers from Vienna, "You and I are a team: you are the most useful man I know, and I am the most ornamental."¹⁷

Livy Clemens, troubled at first by the complete takeover of her husband's affairs, eventually grew to trust Rogers, although she never really knew the man and probably was in awe of such a powerful titan. In 1894, during one of the couple's frequent geographical separations, Livy told of her appreciation in a letter to her husband, a comment he then passed directly to Rogers: "What a tremendous debt of gratitude we owe Mr. Rogers and it can never be paid"; to this Clemens added, "(all of which is exactly true.) We can't ever pay even a tenth of it."¹⁸ Mrs. Clemens later worried that they were burdening Rogers with their complex affairs, but Clemens, after reporting her anxiety, merely shrugged it off with a droll "I think it keeps you healthy; in fact I know it. You don't have time to run around now and get yourself

out of order through idleness."¹⁹ If Sam leaned too heavily on Henry, the latter never complained and they both benefited from their symbiotic relationship.

By the spring of 1905 Livy Clemens had been dead less than a year. Mark Twain, lonely and often alone in his baronial mansion, must have welcomed any interruptions which occurred during each phase of the *World's Work* article; certainly he would relish his influential role of go-between and, typically, plan his own sly contribution to the tribute he felt his friend had long deserved. The opportunity for some discreet meddling came soon after Marcossan dropped off his manuscript on the afternoon of 5 April.

The next morning, Henry Rogers came by to read the early draft and perhaps censor those passages which displeased him. He did not object to being described as "the eagle-eyed and eternally vigilant head of a great monopoly," nor did he find these comments too outlandish:

If your visit is personal, he will greet you with genial warmth and with a kindly light in the dark eyes. . . . But cross Mr. Rogers in business, meet him on the checker-board of trade, and his eyes flash, the square jaw becomes tight, and the mild-mannered man is the incarnation of power and fight.²⁰

At least these are not the changeable red, blue, black, brown, gray, and green eyes which Lawson compared to sky, sea, thundercloud, and "that fiery red and that glinting yellow which one sees only when at night the doors of a great roaring furnace are opened."²¹

Had he been completely honest with himself, Rogers might have found Lawson's prose more colorfully entertaining than Marcossan's, even memorable by comparison. Isaac Marcossan later recalled being with Rogers right after he had read the latest installment of "Frenzied Finance." Rogers reacted calmly, saying "very quietly: 'I cannot understand this man Lawson. He praises me one month and damns me another.'"²² Marcossan had expected Rogers to explode with anger, confirming this description by Lawson of a Rogers tantrum:

The room was small. Suddenly it became full of arms and legs and hands waving and gesticulating, and fists banging and brandished; gnashing teeth and a convulsed face in

which eyes actually burned and rained fire; and the language—such a torrent of vilification and denunciation I had never heard, mingled with oaths so intense, so picturesque, so varied, that the assortment would have driven an old-time East Indiaman skipper green with jealousy.²³

Except for minor corrections, nothing in Marcossan's text should have troubled H.H. Rogers, nor could he have been annoyed by the information the reporter uncovered while interviewing townspeople (including an old schoolteacher of sharp memory) during a visit to Fairhaven, Massachusetts, the community where its most famous and philanthropic native, Rogers of Standard Oil, spent family vacations in an 85-room cottage. Whatever comments Rogers may have made to Clemens after reading the article are lost, however, and we also do not know if Sam Clemens confessed to Henry that he too had written a few choice paragraphs that could be used to lengthen the article and spice up its style, for a homespun yarn was just what was needed to smooth the jerky pace of Marcossan's reportorial prose.

Soon after Henry Rogers's departure that 6 April, Clemens had Miss Lyon telephone Marcossan, asking him to return to 21 Fifth Avenue for more discussion about the article. When he dutifully appeared in Clemens's bedroom shortly after noon, his host was still in bed, dressed in his white nightshirt and propped against white pillows—a familiar sight to family, friends, and even reporters.²⁴ As Marcossan later explained, Twain's view was that "nearly everybody dies in bed. Why shouldn't nearly everybody live in bed?"²⁵ And he practiced what he preached—flamboyantly. This was a literary scene, not somnolent and passive, for the bed was strewn with books and papers, and, on this occasion, the famous author had a writing board across his lap with several half-sheets of manuscript spread upon it.

Preliminaries over, Mark Twain announced in his low nasal drawl that he had something special for Marcossan. Then from the half-sheets he customarily used for early drafts, he read an incident from Rogers's school days. Throughout the reading Marcossan could visualize the story in the *World's Work*, titled "A Reminiscence of Henry Rogers by Mark Twain." When Twain finished, he asked, "How would you like to incorporate this in your article about Henry?"²⁶ Marcossan had a better suggestion:

"Why can't I print your story as a signed article?"

The old man smiled—my editorial enthusiasm had appealed to him—but he said:

"It's impossible. I am owned body and soul by Harpers' and everything I write over my name must go to them."²⁷

And so Marcossan had no alternative but to include Twain's story in his own article. "Thus I had the privilege of being the only writer with whom Mark Twain ever collaborated."²⁸ He had forgotten—or perhaps never knew—that Mark Twain had had other, lengthier collaborations, such as that with Charles Dudley Warner in *The Gilded Age* and with Bret Harte in the play "Ah Sin."

After he had transcribed the four pages of manuscript which Mark Twain had so freely handed over to him, Marcossan had the last page framed; for many years it hung over his desk as a kind of talisman. To this final section of the Rogers anecdote (complete with scrawled additions and deletions in the text) he had appended a Mark Twain autograph: "Truly Yrs / Mark Twain." Below the signature was Twain's distinctive paraph, a zigzag resembling a miniature thunderbolt hurled by some Lilliputian god. Later, a facsimile of this page with its attached autograph was printed in Marcossan's 1919 *Adventures in Interviewing*. Today, this reproduction confirms the essential truth of Marcossan's story and, more importantly, shows that it was Twain who disguised himself as "an old resident of Fairhaven." Hence the use of both single and double quotation marks in Twain's manuscript; the old resident "talks" and while doing so quotes 'others' as well.

In the published article one paragraph, so necessary as a lead-in for Sam's anecdote about Henry, is of dubious origin; it may have been written by Mark Twain as introductory material but more probably Marcossan wrote it at Twain's suggestion:

When Mr. Rogers was not attending school—and also when he was—he delivered a New Bedford newspaper to its subscribers on a small salary, and in this way became an early journalist.²⁹

The passage which immediately follows this is Mark Twain's unadulterated prose and comes directly from the manuscript pages which Twain gave to Isaac Marcossan that April afternoon:

"The way of it was this," reports an old resident of Fairhaven. "The paper was the *Standard*; so you see Henry began with the *Standard* and he's in the *Standard* line yet—oil added, with a big O. He heard that the carrier was going to quit his job, so he got some recommendations and went over and applied. Mr. Anthony, the owner, explained to him that he was starting a daily and already had forty-two subscribers, and Henry would have to carry the weekly and the daily both, but he would get seventy-five cents for the whole job. Henry took him up.

"Then Mr. Anthony said, 'Now, my boy, there's another thing: you can act as agent and get subscribers and have a commission—ten cents for every new weekly subscriber, and twenty-five for a daily.' Henry took him up, and went right out and scored one on the daily; turned in the money and called for his commission. That was soon fixed.

" 'What's the subscriber's name?' says Mr. Anthony. 'Isaiah West,' says Henry. Mr. Anthony wrote it down on the list. Then he turned and says, 'How do you spell Isaiah?' Henry out with it, letter for letter, and no rebate anywhere.

"Mr. Anthony looked at him full of admiration and says 'You'll do! There ain't three people outside of the pulpit that can plow through that name and not get stuck.'

"Well, the subscriptions streamed in pretty fast, for Henry was 'tending to business. Pretty fast for four days, then Henry struck for a hundred percent raise on his weekly wage. 'What for?' says Mr. Anthony, surprised. 'You've doubled the daily in four days,' he says, 'and collected twenty-five cents on every new one. Come—what's the explanation?' 'It was a fifty-cent bundle before,' says Henry—'put it on the scales and see; it weighs a dollar's worth now.' 'Hanged if you *won't* do!' says Mr. Anthony, admiring him again. And he stood the raise like a man.

"Well, Mr. Anthony was telling these things around, about the boy's intellectuality and learning, and there was a doubting neighbor, who thought them pretty austere over and went to Henry and says, 'Look here, how did *you* know how to spell Isaiah?'

"But Henry was always honest, and he answered up and says, 'I'm long sighted, and *I saw him write it.*' "³⁰

III

When the profile of Henry Rogers appeared in print towards the front of the May 1905 *World's Work*, its authorship was credited to John S. Gregory; this was one of the pseudonyms Marcossion used when he contributed more than one article to a single issue of the magazine. It was "The Kansas Oil Fight," beginning twenty-five pages after the Gregory article, that carried the Marcossion by-line. Although he left the staff of *World's Work* in 1907, again over a salary dispute, Marcossion's writing may have appeared in the magazine under the Gregory nom de plume as late as January 1917; it is conceivable, though improbable, that the name was assigned to another staff member.

After World War I Isaac F. Marcossion was a noted and prolific correspondent for the *Saturday Evening Post*, hobnobbing with royalty and world leaders for a quarter of a century and becoming "the foremost interviewer in American journalism" and "unquestionably the world's most successful journalistic 'headhunter.'" ³¹ (Each time he returned from one of his numerous trips abroad, reporters interviewed *him* for his insights on current events.) Throughout this later period Marcossion never forgot his brief association with Mark Twain and a friendship which continued until shortly before the latter's death in 1910, at a time when "his body was beginning to bend under the burden of years but the buoyancy of spirit was still there." ³²

Besides the three major published accounts of his "collaboration" with Mark Twain, Marcossion—like the Ancient Mariner—probably transfixed listeners, as well, with the story, including lecture audiences. There were also minor references to Twain; for example, in his biography of his Louisville mentor, "Marse Henry" Watterson, dynamic editor of the *Courier-Journal* and a distant relative of Clemens, Marcossion compared the "debonair" Watterson to Mark Twain, whose "mind turned ever to the droll. The spontaneity of his humor belied the real temper of the man, for melancholy lurked behind the mask of that humor." ³³

Despite his periodic re-telling of his Rogers-Clemens experience, Marcossion unwittingly confused its details and caused bibliographic mix-ups when he failed to mention his Gregory pseudonym. ³⁴ As a result, one small item in the Mark Twain canon—known yet unknown—continues to be overlooked and uncredited today. This whole tangled tale might well be titled "Six

Authors in Search of a Character," for Isaac F. Marcossion alias John S. Gregory collaborated with Samuel Langhorne Clemens, alias Mark Twain, alias the King, alias "an old resident from Fairhaven": together this literary medley attempted but failed to delineate the true character of one Henry Huttleston Rogers, the elusive straight man of that alliterative and often comedic team known as King Clemens and Rajah Rogers.

NOTES

¹Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain, A Biography*, III (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1912), 1227.

²Then Paine added: "Some of those nearest to him fell naturally into the habit of referring to him as 'the King,' and in time the title crept out of the immediate household and was taken up by others who loved him." *Mark Twain*, 1292.

³Isaac F. Marcossion, *Before I Forget: A Pilgrimage to the Past* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1959), 71.

⁴Isaac F. Marcossion, *Adventures in Interviewing* (London and New York: John Lane, 1920), 42.

⁵*Ibid.*, 42, 40.

⁶Quoted in Lewis Leary, ed., *Mark Twain's Correspondence with Henry Huttleston Rogers, 1893-1909* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 590, fn. 1.

⁷Walter H. Page, *A Publisher's Confession* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1923), 181.

⁸[Walter H. Page], "The Use of Mr. Lawson," in "The March of Events," *World's Work*, 10 (May 1905): 6121. This attribution is based on Marcossion's remark that Page wrote almost all of the magazine's editorials under the "March of Events" title. "They became a vivid panorama of the times, illumined with humour, alive with mental energy, yet kindly with a sympathetic understanding of men and happenings." (See *Adventures in Interviewing*, 42.)

⁹*Before I Forget*, 73.

¹⁰Original letter in the Mark Twain Papers [MTP], The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

¹¹Leary, *Correspondence*, 583, fn. 1.

¹²Typescript of Isabel V. Lyon journal for 1905, p. 46; Courtesy MTP, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

¹³HHR to SLC, 27 March 1905, in Leary, *Correspondence*, 582-83.

¹⁴Isabel V. Lyon 1905 Calendar, in MTP, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

¹⁵After 7 April 1905 there are no further calendar references to Marcossion and the *World's Work* article prior to its May publication, and no further comments in extant Clemens/Rogers correspondence.

¹⁶Leary, *Correspondence*, Appendix G, 709-11.

¹⁷SLC to HHR, 21 December 1897, *ibid.*, p. 310.

¹⁸SLC to HHR, 8 May 1894, *ibid.*, 52.

¹⁹SLC to HHR, 10 June 1898, *ibid.*, 350-51.

²⁰John S. Gregory, "Henry H. Rogers—Monopolist," *World's Work* 10 (May 1905): 6128.

²¹"The Engaging Personal Side of Henry H. Rogers," *Current Literature* 47 (July 1909): 36.

²²*Adventures in Interviewing*, 217.

²³"The Engaging Personal Side of Henry H. Rogers," 36.

²⁴Reporters had interviewed a recumbent Mark Twain as early as 1884, and the earliest bed-photograph was taken in 1895 during his world lecture tour. By the spring of 1906, photographs of Mark Twain in bed were in wide circulation. "In allowing the bed-photographs Twain was both confirming and indulging the general perception of two of his characteristic qualities—his unconventionality and his spontaneity." Louis J. Budd, "Mark Twain: Still in Bed but Wide-Awake," *Amerikastudien* 30 (Spring 1985): 179-80.

²⁵*Before I Forget*, 516.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 86.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 87.

²⁸*Ibid.* "I believe I am the only man with whom Mark Twain ever collaborated," is the lead sentence of Marcossón's "Mark Twain as Collaborator," *Mark Twain Quarterly* 2 (Winter 1937): 7.

²⁹"Henry H. Rogers—Monopolist," 6130.

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹David Sarasohn, "Isaac Frederick Marcossón," *Dictionary of American Biography*, Supplement 7, 512-13.

³²*Adventures in Interviewing*, 247.

³³Isaac F. Marcossón, "Marse Henry": *A Biography of Henry Watterson* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1951), 207.

³⁴To summarize, Marcossón's three major accounts are, chronologically: *Adventures in Interviewing* (1919; rpt. 1931), 215-17 and 244-47; "Mark Twain as Collaborator," *Mark Twain Quarterly*, 2 (1937): 7, 24; *Before I Forget* (1959), 85-89. In each instance, the time of re-telling is so far removed from the actual 1905 incident that the reporter's less than total recall is painfully evident. Besides forgetting his John S. Gregory pen name, he added or altered details at will, sometimes erroneously. (For instance, he gives 1904 as the date of the happening in his article, a "fact" noted in at least one major bibliography.) From a study of the evidence, it is apparent that Mark Twain achieved his desire for anonymity through mere human error, an unintentional cover-up.